

to state colleges in Maryland or Virginia. Under this proposal, the federal government will pay the difference between the two rates, creating no additional cost to state universities. Public university grants may not exceed \$10,000 in any award year, with a total cap of \$50,000 per individual.

Additionally, this legislation provides tuition assistance grants of \$2,500 for students attending private colleges in the District or the adjoining Maryland and Virginia suburbs, including historically black colleges and universities as another educational option for the District's students.

Access to quality education in the United States is essential. This bill goes a long way to ensure that the students of the District of Columbia are afforded a variety of educational opportunities at a reasonable cost. It will encourage the young people of the District of Columbia to complete high school and seek further education. This will enable them to acquire better jobs in the future, earn good salaries, and improve the quality of life in the entire Washington, D.C. metropolitan region.

COUNCIL OF KHALISTAN LETTER IN NEW YORK POST ALLEGES RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION IN INDIA

HON. JOHN T. DOOLITTLE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 4, 1999

Mr. DOOLITTLE. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call the attention of my colleagues to a letter that appeared on Wednesday, November 3, 1999, in the New York Post by Dr. Gurmit Singh Aulakh, President of the Council of Khalistan. It reveals the religious persecution in India.

Christians have been actively persecuted in India in recent months, a pattern carried out on Sikhs, Muslims, and others.

I urge all my colleagues to read the attached letter, which I am placing in the RECORD.

[From the New York Post, Nov. 3, 1999]

RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION IN INDIA

Thank you, Rod Dreher, for an excellent article ("Pope's passage to India may be most perilous yet," Oct. 28) exposing the "Hindu brownshirts" who run India.

The religious persecution of Christians has reached unparalleled proportions, as Dreher aptly points out. But it is not just Christians who have suffered severe religious persecution. India has killed over 200,000 Christians, over 250,000 Sikhs, more than 65,000 Muslims and tens of thousands of Assamese, Manipuris, Tamils, Dalits and others since its independence. Thousands of minorities, especially Sikhs, remain in Indian jails as political prisoners without charge or trial.

The Western world must not accept this pattern of religious tyranny.

DR. GURMIT SINGH AULAKH,
Council of Khalistan,
Washington D.C. (via e-mail).

REPUBLICANS ARE WINNING THE BUDGET FIGHT

HON. ERNEST J. ISTOOK, JR.

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 4, 1999

Mr. ISTOOK. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to commend the Republicans in the House and the Senate on our pledge not to spend Social Security. To that end, I recommend the reading of the following article by Tod Lindberg, which appeared in the November 8th issue of The Weekly Standard.

HOUSE REPUBLICANS ARE WINNING ONE THE BUDGET BATTLE OF 1999, HARD TO BELIEVE BUT TRUE, HAS FEATURED GOP CUNNING (By Tod Lindberg)

Republicans both inside and outside Congress have been pleasantly surprised by how well they are doing politically in this year's budget fight with President Clinton. Ever since Clinton squashed the Republican Congress over the government shutdown in 1995-96, the autumnal rites of appropriation have been a time of dread for the GOP, an exercise in wondering who among them will be a human sacrifice come the next election as a result of drawing the wrath of the Democratic administration.

This time, simply put, they are not getting killed. In fact, thanks to their tireless reiteration of their unifying theme—namely, that they are going to protect every last dime of Social Security from marauding Democrats—and thanks to the money the GOP is spending on advertising in select congressional districts repeating the point, poll numbers show the Republican message taking hold. It looks like Republicans have at last found an incantation with the same black magic power as the Democrats' "Medicare, Medicaid, education, and the environment."

Now, there are those who might say that the real secret of the GOP's success, such as it is, has been timely surrender, appeasement, and subterfuge: that Republicans have wholeheartedly agreed to substantial increases in government spending. The spending caps theoretically imposed by the balanced budget agreement have in effect been blown to smithereens, and the appropriations bills themselves are, in the aggregate, full of budgetary gimmickry and self-aggrandizing assumptioneering. This, snort some, is what a Republican Congress does? Crank up spending and cook the books to hide it?

Well, up to a point. Those who see a smaller, more limited federal government as the sole test of conservative success will rightly be disappointed. At the end of the appropriations process—which is to say, before final negotiations with the White House—domestic discretionary outlays were scheduled to grow by 6 percent. The increase in outlays will surely outpace the growth of the economy in 2000. In absolute and relative terms, government is not shrinking but growing.

But this raises the question: By how much? And compared with what? In judging the Republican performance, it's only fair to take account of political reality—in particular, the terra incognita of budgeting in an era of surplus.

A better term for Bill Clinton's "Third Way" governing philosophy might be "balanced-budget liberalism." For years, Republicans ran against the federal budget deficit,

while Democrats only paid lip service to the concept (though they were always prepared to raise taxes in the name of deficit reduction). With their new majority after the 1994 elections, Republicans felt obliged to attack the deficit head-on. Politically, they ran into the Clintonian buzzsaw. But in the end, thanks in no small measure to a surging economy, Clinton was happy to grant Republicans what they had always claimed was their fondest wish: a balanced federal budget.

One should, of course, be careful what one wishes for, lest one get it. Before Republicans saw it, Clinton understood the political implications of a world of budget surpluses. If your main argument against federal spending is "the deficit," then surpluses translate into more spending. The GOP leadership on Capitol Hill disagreed. Many of them still wanted to cut spending or at least restrain increases. But for the first time in their political lives, the budget deficit was no longer at hand as an easy argument against spending. And Clinton would not go along with a tax cut acceptable to Republicans, so no budget restraint would be imposed by depriving the government of tax revenue.

This is the box Republicans found themselves in at the beginning of the 1999 budget season, with the additional headache, after their 1998 election losses, of only a whisker-thin majority in the House. What's more, impeachment-related political tumult had claimed first the Gingrich speakership and then Bob Livingston's, resulting in the elevation of the amiable but untested Dennis Hastert of Illinois. This looked for all the world like an environment in which Clinton could fragment the House Republicans and dictate the spending levels he wanted, up to the limits of the budget surplus.

Indeed, this was the calculation the House leadership made at first. They were inclined to abandon the budget caps early and make an expensive peace with the White House, thereby avoiding the nightmare scenario of another government shutdown for which they would be blamed—and the end of their majority in 2000. But there was serious resistance in the ranks to the idea of popping the caps. So they hung on and looked for some other survival kit, and found an unlikely one.

They decided to make Social Security their friend. For years, the fact that government took in more in Social Security taxes than it paid in benefits, \$99 billion in 1998, was irrelevant to the big picture on the deficit. In other words, government "spent" the Social Security "surplus"—that is, the deficit for running the rest of the government, apart from Social Security, would have been higher by the amount of the Social Security surplus. No one seriously objected to this "raid" on the "Social Security trust fund." These are arbitrary accounting distinctions.

Then, in a series of head-scratching staff meetings devoted to the question of how not to get killed, Republicans finally hit paydirt—a line they could articulate simply and clearly, with potential for public resonance, and around which they could keep their slender majority united, against all odds. It was "Stop the Raid" on Social Security. At a stroke, they were able to declare some \$147 billion of the federal budget surplus for 2000 off limits to new spending. And they were able to hold that line.

In accounting reality, this Social Security surplus figure is not less arbitrary than the budget caps supposedly still in force. But in the real world of politics, the fact is that